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Another Set of Fourteen Points or Principles Formulated by President Wilson.

Before the President of the United States sails away into the unknown, on a self-appointed mission, accompanied by a self-chosen retinue, to undertake in foreign territory the arrangement of the destinies of a good part of the civilized world, one thing should be understood generally by his fellow citizens. His departure, it is true, throws the Executive Department of the Government into a state of such uncertainty, if not chaos, that the most eminent jurists and jurists of this country cannot agree about the constitutional and legal aspects of the unprecedented situation; but, it must at least be said, he leaves behind him a perfectly clear and coherent set of principles to guide public opinion at home during his absence and to safeguard American democracy while he is away.

Some of President Wilson's fourteen domestic points or principles it has already been THE SUN's privilege to exhibit for the encouragement of those who may be apprehensive. Taken in connection with the others which we present this morning they form a complete and lucid code. They follow in proper sequence; and for typographical convenience we have removed to another column on this page the exact indication of the place in Mr. Wilson's writings or speeches where each of these fourteen points or principles was originally by him enunciated:

Concerning the first duty of an American President.

"The first and primary obligation is the maintenance of the integrity of our own sovereignty."

II.

No small body of persons must determine America's future.

"If I understand the life of America, the central principle of it is this, that no small body of persons, no matter how influential, shall be trusted to determine the policy and development of America."

III.

The Monroe Doctrine must continue to be maintained upon America's sole responsibility.

"The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. It always has been maintained, and always will be maintained, upon her own responsibility."

IV.

The talkative partner and the silent partner.

"There is a very great peculiarity, though, about every partnership. There is always a talkative member and a silent member; and the talkative member is generally very much in evidence and the silent member generally takes the consequences and pays the bills."

V.

An officer is an officer only when he keeps within his powers.

"No peculiar dignity or sanctity attaches among us to any officer of Government. The theory of our law is that an officer is an officer only so long as he acts within his powers; that when he transgresses his authority he ceases to be an officer and is only a private individual, subject to be sued and punished for his offense."

VI.

Where freedom exists the people must take care of the Government; not the Government of the people.

"No Government has ever been beneficial from the attitude of the Government that it would take care of the people. Let me tell you that freedom exists only when the people take care of the Government."

VII.

Autocracy or egotistic government cannot last long in America.

"Power will never again in America, if I know anything of its temper, long be entrusted to those who use it in their own behalf."

VIII.

What happens when a President attempts to concentrate power in his own person.

"He [the President] may also over-hear Congress by arbitrary acts which ignore the laws or virtually override them. He may even substitute his own orders for acts of Congress which he wants but cannot get. Such things are not only deeply immoral, they are destructive of the fundamental under-

standings of constitutional government and, therefore, of constitutional government itself. They are sure, moreover, in a country of free opinion, to destroy both the fame and the power of the man who dares to practice them."

IX.

Reasons for resisting the concentration of Executive power.

"When we resist, therefore, when I, as a Democrat, resist, the concentration of power, I am resisting the processes of death, because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human initiative and therefore of human energy."

X.

What is sure to happen to the man in office who works principally to serve his own ambition.

"A man who works in order that he may be distinguished is sooner or later going to do some selfish thing that will disgrace him because his object is himself and not the ideals which he serves."

XI.

The true principles of public service stated and unselfishness in public service ennobled.

"I can name two or three men with whom I have conferred again and again, and I have never caught them by any inadvertence thinking about themselves or their own interests; and I tie to these men as I would tie to an anchor. Men who have no axes to grind. Men who love America so that they would give their lives for it and never care whether anybody heard that they had given their lives for it; willing to die in obscurity if only they might serve."

XII.

How to attain by disinterested humility a place among the princes of the world.

"A man, no matter how humble his business, can hold his head up among the princes of the world if, as he ought to do, he will think of himself as the servant of the people and not as their master, as one who would serve and not govern."

XIII.

The reputation which is the lot of those who disregard the fundamental law.

"Nothing in a system like ours can be constitutional which is immoral or which touches the good faith of those who have sworn to obey the fundamental law. The reputation of all good men will always overwhelm such influences with shame and failure."

XIV.

Compact description of the office and functions of the Vice-President.

"That singular office . . . 'Even the Vice-President is not afforded an opportunity to learn the duties of the office.'"

We need not commend these fourteen points to the diligent attention not only of students of our constitutional system, to which the President has devoted so much intelligent thought, but also to all who are hungry for his ideas concerning the ethical side of politics. That, too, is a field which President Wilson has never neglected, no matter how exacting the other demands upon his mind and time.

It may be said that the foregoing precepts are of the nature of obiter dicta rather than of official pronouncement. Inasmuch as they have not yet received the sanction of any other department of our Government, that does not seem to us to detract from their authoritative importance, for precisely the same thing might be said of the fourteen international points or principles which he is about to carry with him to Europe for the instruction and benefit of other democracies than our own.

Spendthrift Funds.

A woman who died recently, leaving a large fortune to her children, had the knowledge of human weakness and the wisdom to establish a spendthrift fund, setting apart the income of a fraction of her estate "so that if misfortune or reverses in financial matters should befall my children, or their issue, they will be free of creditors." So read her will.

What a pity that spendthrift funds cannot be as easily set up for the preservation against all wastefulness and bad fortune, of a part of things of even greater value than money; health, interest in life, friendship, memory, common sense, morality! Even statesmen must sometimes wish that at least a part of their fame could be held secure against the possible inroads of their own, let us say, enthusiasm.

Dangerous Business, Gentlemen.

A number of newspapers in this town printed yesterday an interview, statement, or declaration variously attributed to FRANK R. KENT, managing editor of the Sun newspaper of Baltimore, Md., and Colonel CHARLES A. ROOR, editor of the Pittsburgh Dispatch, in which great emphasis is laid upon the misunderstandings, differences of opinion, and clashes of policy that have occurred between various individuals and organizations in France since the United States entered the war and was represented by its military officers at the front.

We are unable to conceive of any good public purpose or respectable journalistic end that can be served by the composition and publication of such matter.

Every American with a head on his shoulders understands that France has not been fought over, that armies of half a dozen nations have not been in camp and trench side by side, that plans requiring the cooperation of forces gathered from all corners of the earth have not been prosecuted without more or less friction, without some noses being put out of joint, or without some pretty sharp interchanges of opinion. The wonder is not that such unfortunate incidents

have occurred, but that they exerted so little harmful influence.

It is not necessary now to explain to the people of the United States that England and Europe are going to try to enforce their own conception of their rights at the peace conference, and that restraint and diplomacy will be necessary to maintain harmony and achieve a satisfactory series of treaties from it.

No good can be done by presenting General Pershing in the attitude of insulting Marshal Foch so grossly that "had he been a Frenchman, his friends say, he would probably have had to fight a duel with Foch." Who are these "friends"? In a matter of this kind identification and the establishment of their right to speak for General Pershing is more than desirable: it is essential.

This whole structure of insinuation and accusation attributed to Mr. KENT and Colonel ROOR, and such charges as that "there is believed to be a disposition on the part of the French to reach out for more territory than is exactly just," that "neither England nor France has any use for Italy" appear to be based on petulant utterances of irritated men, on boulevard gossip, on surmise, conjecture, and personal ill will perhaps resulting from personal disappointment. If it has its origin in anything more formidable, that origin will not be found in good disposition toward the Allies, or sincere desire to smooth the path for enduring peace.

If Mr. KENT and Colonel ROOR are the authors of a merely frivolous piece of ill-tempered gossip they little regard the dignity of their profession, and if they believe that such outpourings as that for which they stand sponsor are helpful in the present situation they are fools.

The Woman Waiter.

At a recent public dinner in one of the leading hotels of the city the service, except for the legal limitation regarding the serving of wines, was entirely by women waiters. The dinner was given under the auspices of representatives of one of the allied nations and among the attendants were many French, Italian and British, who would be expected to be as exacting, if even not more exacting, regarding service than Americans.

The unusual feature of a public dinner served by women waiters was commented upon. And the expressions throughout were in praise of the excellence of the service.

It was as expeditious as the service furnished by men waiters; it was also accompanied by less confusion, and was as unobtrusively and as systematically done. There was apparently no discontent over the tips received. They were, it is true, liberal; for they were an expression rather of satisfaction of the guests than a tribute to that had been exacted.

The woman has unquestionably proved her ability as a waiter at hotel dining rooms. She has solved the tip question to the satisfaction of the guests, the hotel men say, and she has made it rather difficult for the old-time waiter, should he get back his job, to reach the high scale of perquisites that he had set up for himself and which he was attempting to levy on diners at his tables. If tips had really fallen off, as the striking waiter claims, the hotel men say that the reasons were the inefficiency of his service and his methods of enforcing his demands. The guest, as the innocent bystander, is inclined to agree with the hotel man. The woman waiter wants a tip, a reasonable tip, but at the same time she is asking it as a reward for her service.

It was considered that the real test of service would come with the beginning of the large public dinners of the winter season. So far the woman waiter has shown herself equal to the task.

"Circumstances" and the Atlantic Cables.

The Atlantic cables controlled by American companies were taken over to Government operation under authority given to the President by the Congress to take over "telegraph and telephone lines." Under what circumstances the President was expected to take over those lines has been told by a then recognized spokesman for the White House, Senator JAMES HAY LEWIS, who until March 4 next will continue to represent in the State of Illinois in the Congress. It is not always easy to understand Senator LEWIS, but he seems in the language below quoted to be attempting to assure the Senate that the President did not intend to take over the Atlantic cables for the joint manipulation of Mr. BRITTON and Mr. CARR. Senator LEWIS said:

"Sir, I do hold and present to these honorable Senators this thought: That when we had passed the joint resolution the President under no wise takes possession of this property, under no circumstances but one does he assume to operate it. The power to him granted by the joint resolution is never to be exercised until subsequently to its passage there are circumstances manifest to him from evidence incontrovertible, proved and evident, that for the national security or for the defense of the country he should step in and assume that control."

However, it may be contended by some that to have Mr. BRITTON in control of one end of the cables, while the President is in Paris and Mr. CARR, in control of the other end, is for the national security of news and defense of the freedom of the country's press.

Was it considerate of Mr. McAdoo to announce a new bond issue on the eve of Thanksgiving?

Undoubtedly the armistice will have to be renewed on December 17 of per-

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

A Key to President Wilson's Second Set of Principles.

I.—From a speech before the New York Federation of Churches, January 21, 1918.
II.—From a speech to the Associated Advertising Clubs at Philadelphia, June 25, 1918.
III.—From an address to the Pan-American Scientific Congress at Washington, January 7, 1917.
IV.—From a speech at Jersey City, May 2, 1917.
V.—From "Constitutional Government in the United States," page 19.
VI.—From a speech in New York, September 4, 1917.
VII.—From a speech at the Jefferson Day dinner in Washington, April 12, 1918.
VIII.—From a speech at the workingmen's dinner here in New York city, September 12, 1917.
IX.—From "Constitutional Government in the United States," page 11.
X.—From a speech in Washington on the Fourth of July, 1918.
XI.—From a speech in Washington, May 18, 1918.
XII.—From a speech in Philadelphia, June 25, 1918.
XIII.—From "Constitutional Government in the United States," page 17.
XIV.—From "Constitutional Government in the United States," pages 119 and 61.

STOP THE WASTE!

Every Consideration of Economy and Sound Business Requires It.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN:—Sir: May I presume to congratulate you on the purely American stand you are taking regarding the necessity of prompt and radical cutting off of every dollar of wasteful expenditure on any and all war costs? Under the army or navy?

If you will consider the fact that you will receive the lasting gratitude of a very large majority of the American people.

Our present Government seems to think that all our laborers need nurses to look after them. What there is no further need for any goods for war purposes to continue to make one dollar's worth is throwing that dollar away, however any economic theorist tries to justify himself in looking at it otherwise. Every citizen, town and village in this country is a part of the war effort.

Every family has made great sacrifices to help in the war effort. If we are to help in the war effort, we must be able to do so practically at once, and any independent worker worth his salt will find his way to his place without any special appeal.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT EUROPE.

Returned Americans Remove the Veil From a Dismal Situation.

BRAN'S KNEE, Wis., Nov. 28.—(Editorial.) Nothing, editor of the *Whereas*, who has just returned from a three days tour of Europe, says all off and on, a well posted war correspondent in London told him that Gen. Pershing's mistake was too long to suit the British and too short to please the French. What is even more striking, Mr. Norcross, who has just returned from a tour of Wisconsin and could not get one.

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